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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 HELSINKI 1303

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SUBJ: SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS III: SDP FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION

REF: HELSINKI 1225

1. SUMMARY. FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT TRIENNIAL
CONGRESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP) JUNE 5-8 REFLECTS
VIEWS OF YOUNG LEFTIST ACTIVISTS IN PARTY AND IS IN MANY
PARTS MORE "SOCIALIST" AND ANTI-WESTERN THAN 1972

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RESOLUTION. FOREIGN POLICY ATTRACTED LITTLE ATTENTION

AT CONGRESS -- WHICH WAS PRIMARILY FOCUSSED ON LEADERSHIP, DOMESTIC, AND ELECTION ISSUES. AFTER THE SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS IT CAN BE EXPECTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SDP ACTIVISTS WILL USE RESOLUTION IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO GAIN GREATER THAN PRESENT PERIPHERAL ROLE IN FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION. ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPT THAT THEY HAVE WRITTEN FOR THEMSELVES, THEY WILL BE PUSHING FOR CONSIDERABLY INCREASED TRADE WITH USSR, SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA, PALESTINIANS, CHILEAN REFUGEES, REBUILDING OF VIETNAM, AND A GENERALLY ENHANCED POSITION FOR THIRD WORLD, AS WELL AS AN NFZ IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN NORDIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

2. THE FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION (FORWARDED SEPARATELY TO DEPT.) ADOPTED AT THE TRIENNIAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP), JUNE 5-8, REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE YOUNG LEFTIST, ACTIVIST ELEMENT IN THE PARTY WHICH OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS HAS MANAGED TO GAIN AN EVER INCREASING ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF THE PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS. AFTER THE 1972 CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS GROUP WERE SUCCESSFUL IN HAVING FIVE MORE OF THEIR "MEMBERS" GAIN A SEAT ON THE SDP'S FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE HAD WORKED UP A DRAFT OF A FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PARTY CONGRESS DELEGATES. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, ALTHOUGH MUCH MORE "SOCIALIST" AND ANTI-WESTERN THAN THE 1972 RESOLUTION, DID NOT SATISFY THE EVEN MORE LEFTIST-ORIENTED CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS WHO HAD WRANGLERED FOR THEMSELVES SEATS ON THE CONGRESS' FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE, AND THEY IN TURN PROCEEDED TO FURTHER RADICALIZE THE RESOLUTION.

3. FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, ATTRACTED RELATIVELY LITTLE ATTENTION AT THE CONGRESS -- PRIMARY FOCUS BEING ON LEADERSHIP, DOMESTIC AND ELECTION ISSUES. ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS WAS THE MINIMAL TIME, FIVE MINUTES, DEVOTED TO DEBATING AND PASSING THE FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION.

4. BOTH THE DRAFT, AND PARTICULARLY THE FINAL, FOREIGN
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POLICY RESOLUTION CONTAINED A MUCH GREATER ABUNDANCE OF ACRID ATTACKS ON IMPERIALISM, CAPITALISM, COLONIALISM AND RACIAL QUESTIONS THAN HAD THE 1972 RESOLUTION. THE RESOLUTION IS BROKEN DOWN INTO SEVERAL CATEGORIES CONTAINING BOTH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD SITUATION AND SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME EXAMPLES WITH, AS APPROPRIATE, COMPARISONS BETWEEN 1972, THE 1975 DRAFT,

AND THE 1975 FINAL RESOLUTION:

5. INTRODUCTION. IN ITS GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND THE PRESENT SITUATION, THE SDP ATTACKS THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM CLAIMING THAT ITS DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN BASED ON ROBBING THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES. THE SDP EXPRESSES CONCERN AND FEAR THAT THE CAPITALIST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WILL TRY TO SOLVE THE PRESENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS RELATED TO INCREASED OIL AND COMMODITY PRICES THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE. IMPERIALISM COMES IN FOR ITS SHARE OF THE BLAME, SUCH AS "IMPERIALISM IS THE MOST DIFFICULT HURDLE FOR THE ARRANGING OF WORLD ECONOMIC RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY." MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS FARE NO BETTER THAN CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM. THE SDP ALSO CLAIMS THAT THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGES HAVE BEEN LESS MARKED IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

6. PEACE. CONCERNING PEACE THE RESOLUTION READS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, "THE AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR AND TO LIMIT STRATEGIC WEAPONS (SALT) ARE AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TOWARDS STRENGTHENING PEACE THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN OUR TIME." IN THIS CATEGORY SDP ALSO PROCLAIMS ITS SUPPORT FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE (KEKKONEN PLAN), AND ADDS THAT "ONE MUST STUDY DIFFERENT ALTERNATIVES TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE GREAT POWERS' MEANS OF SUPPORTING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE NORTH."

7. SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. RESOLUTION PROCLAIMS THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, EXCLUSION OF USE OF FORCE AND THREATS OF FORCE, SOVEREIGN
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EQUALITY OF STATES, AND NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. RESOLUTION ALSO STATES "THE FOUR POWERS' AGREEMENT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO EASING THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF BERLIN."

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8. MIDDLE EAST. SP CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL ARAB AREAS OCCUPIED IN 1967, RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, GUARANTEE OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA. (COMMENT: THE DELEGATE OF THE ISRAELI SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, MR. PERRY -- WHO IS STATIONED IN LONDON -- TOLD POLCOUNS THAT HE HAD TRIED IN VAIN TO HAVE COMMITTEE SPECIFICALLY NAME ISRAEL IN RESOLUTION AS ONE OF THE STATES WHOSE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY SHOULD BE GUARANTEED. COMMITTEE MAINTAINED CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS UNDERSTOOD.) ACCORDING TO THE RESOLUTION THE SDP "VIGOROUSLY CONDEMNS THE USE OF FORCE AND THREATS OF VIOLENCE TO SECURE THE SUPPLY OF OIL FROM THE MIDDLE EAST." (THE 1972 RESOLUTION, RATHER THAN TALKING ABOUT PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE CALLED FOR

"A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND TO THE PROBLEM OF THE ARAB REFUGEES.") THE RESOLUTION ALSO STATES THAT "A CONFERENCE TO SETTLE THE CRISIS SHOULD BE CONVENED IN GENEVA."

9. VIETNAM. RESOLUTION READS "THE BITTER WAR IN VIETNAM WHICH HAS LASTED OVER THIRTY YEARS HAS FINALLY ENDED. IT IS THE MORAL DUTY OF INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO GIVE HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR THE REBUILDING OF THE DESTROYED COUNTRY. SDP TAKES IT FOR GRANTED THAT FINLAND WILL ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THIS WORK."

10. CHILE. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION "UNCOMPROMISINGLY CONDEMNS THE FASCIST MILITARY JUNTA IN CHILE AND ITS OPPRESSION OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT," AND CALLED FOR INTENSIFIED INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF "DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN CHILE." THE FINAL VERSION GOES ONE STEP FURTHER BY CLAIMING THAT "THE DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILE CLEARLY SHOW HOW INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL AND ITS ALLIES USE FASCISM AS A LAST RESORT TO INSURE THEIR PRIVILEGES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR ECONOMIC ROBBERY." BOTH VERSIONS DEMAND CONTINUED GOF SUPPORT FOR CHILEAN REFUGEES.

11. COLONIALISM AND RACIAL OPPRESSION. SDP SEES "DIS-INTEGRATION OF PORTUGUESE COLONIAL POWER AS DECISIVE STEP TOWARDS LIBERATION OF THE VERY LAST COLONIES." DRAFT RESOLUTION READS "PARTY DEMANDS THAT FINLAND REVIEW ITS POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL LINKS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA," BUT FINAL VERSION CHANGED THIS TO "PARTY DEMANDS THAT GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND FREEZE ITS RELATIONS WITH REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND URGE FINNISH COMPANIES TO STOP TRADING WITH COUNTRIES PRACTICING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION."

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12. FASCISM IN EUROPE. RESOLUTION HOLDS "THE OVERTHROW OF THE FASCIST SYSTEMS IN GREECE AND PORTUGAL TO BE A GREAT VICTORY FOR WORKERS' MOVEMENTS IN THOSE COUNTRIES AND FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ACTIVITY." AT THE CONGRESS THE FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE CORRECTED WHAT WAS PROBABLY AN OVERSIGHT ON PART OF ORIGINAL DRAFTERS BY ADDING SENTENCE SAYING THAT: "A FASCIST SYSTEM IS STILL IN POWER IN SPAIN, HOWEVER."

13. PORTUGAL. THE DRAFT CONTAINED NO MENTION OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. THIS WAS PROBABLY NOT A QUESTION OF OVERSIGHT, BUT RATHER PROBLEM OF FORMU-

LATING PHRASEOLOGY THAT WOULD SUPPORT PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS WITHOUT AT SAME TIME TOO BLATANTLY ATTACKING COMMUNISTS. AT CONGRESS A SECTION ON PORTUGAL WAS PREPARED AND PRESENTED TO DELEGATES. DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL CONSUMED MOST OF THE MEAGER FIVE MINUTES THAT DELEGATES DEVOTED TO DEBATING AND PASSING THE ENTIRE AMENDED FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION. CONCERNING PORTUGAL THE SDP "NOTES WITH CONCERN THAT REACTIONARY FORCES HAVE STARTED TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE PORTUGUESE WORKERS' MOVEMENT, WHICH COULD ENDANGER THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF PORTUGAL." AFTER NOTING THAT AFM HAS POSITIVE ROLE TO PLAY TOGETHER WITH WORKERS' MOVEMENT, THE SDP ADDS THAT "THE UNQUESTIONABLE GOAL MUST BE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN SUCH A WAY THAT POWER IS DIVIDED BETWEEN PARTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SUPPORT THEY HAVE RECEIVED IN FREE ELECTIONS." SDP THEN GOES ON TO EXPRESS ITS WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT FOR THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS.

14. CONCERNING FINLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY THE SDP NOT ONLY CAME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE PAASIKIVI-KEKKONEN LINE, BUT SAID THAT "THE PARTY EXPECTS THIS POLICY TO BE FOLLOWED UNFLINCHINGLY." THE RESOLUTION NOTED THAT "FINLAND'S ATTEMPTS TO REMAIN OUTSIDE OF BIG-POWER CONFLICTS" IS EXPRESSED IN THE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE RESOLUTION FURTHER STATES THAT "THE SDP EXPECTS FINLAND TO CONTINUE AN ACTIVE POLICY OF PEACE TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FOCUS OF THIS POLICY IS IN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY IN NORTHERN EUROPE. (THIS SENTENCE IS AN ADDITION TO 1972 VERSION AND WOULD SEEM TO CONTRADICT THE OTHERWISE MARKED TENDENCY THROUGHOUT THE RESOLUTION TO CONCENTRATE THE FOCUS ON THIRD WORLD.)

15. FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. RESOLUTION STATES THAT "THE KEY POINT OF DEPARTURE IN FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY IS THE MAINTENANCE OF GOOD AND CREDIBLE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION WITH HER." THE PARTY ALSO NOTES "WITH PARTICULAR FAVOR THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FINNISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE CPSU." ECHOING OTHERS, INCLUDING KEKKONEN, THE PARTY NOTES THAT "ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR FINLAND IN WEATHERING THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS," AND "THE NEWS MEDIA ALSO BEAR MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR CEMENTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE FINNISH AND SOVIET PEOPLES."

16. FINNISH-NORDIC RELATIONS. RESOLUTION BLANDLY
NOTES THAT "DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION WITH OUR
COUNTRY'S NORDIC NEIGHBORS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF
FINLAND." AND THAT "THE OUTLOOK FOR ECONOMIC COOPER-
ATION BETWEEN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES IS GOOD."
IT THEN GOES ON TO STATE THAT "CONTINUOUS EFFORTS
MUST BE MADE TO SETTLE THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE
COMMON NORDIC LABOR MARKET." DRAFT VERSION "COOPERATION
IN THE SCANDINAVIAN ARCTIC REGIONS BETWEEN THE THREE
NORDIC COUNTRIES MUST BE DEVELOPED AND ATTEMPTS
SHOULD BE MADE TO INCLUDE THE SOVIET UNION IN THE
SCOPE OF THIS COOPERATION," WAS CHANGED TO READ
"WHEN DEVELOPING NORDIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION ATTEMPTS
SHOULD BE MADE TO DETERMINE THE POSSIBILITIES OF SOVIET
PARTICIPATION IN JOINT PROJECTS BETWEEN TWO OR MORE
NORDIC COUNTRIES." THERE WAS NO MENTION OF THIS IN 1972,
AND THE EMPHASIS WAS MUCH MORE CLEARLY PRO-NORDIC THEN.

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17. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE FAIRLY LENGTHY SECTION IN THE RESOLUTION DEALING WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BOILS DOWN TO TRADITIONAL SDP SUPPORT FOR THE DEMANDS OF THE LDC'S, INCREASED FINNISH FOREIGN AID IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AT HOME, AND FINNISH EFFORTS "TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND SMALLER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IN THE UN."

18. FOREIGN TRADE POLICY. ANOTHER AREA THAT RECEIVED A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF ATTENTION AND WAS SUBJECT CONFIDENTIAL

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TO MANY CHANGES WAS FINNISH TRADE POLICY. MOST OF THE CHANGES AMOUNTED TO REITERATION OF CRITICISM OF THE CAPITALIST MARKET ECONOMY SYSTEM ALREADY ADDRESSED IN THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION. ONE OF THEM SPECIFICALLY CALLED FOR "MORE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF FOREIGN TRADE." WHEREAS THE DRAFT EXPRESSED "SUPPORT FOR INCREASED TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES," THE FINAL VERSION STATES THAT "SDP HOLDS THAT, IN TRADE POLICY, PRIMARY ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ASSURING THE POSITION OF TRADE WITH THE EAST, AND THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO INCREASE IT IN BOTH ACTUAL AND RELATIVE TERMS." THE SDP IS CRITICAL OF FINLAND'S FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE EEC. THE RESOLUTION EMPHASIZES THAT "IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT IN OBSERVING THE EFFECTS OF THE AGREEMENT CONTINUOUS AND CAREFUL ATTENTION IS PAID TO THE DEMAND MADE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE GOVERNMENT AT THE TIME THAT THE SIGNATURE AUTHORIZATIONS WERE GIVEN: THAT THE EEC FREE TRADE ARRANGEMENTS MAY NOT COME IN CONFLICT WITH THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE NOR WITH ANY OTHER OF OUR OBLIGATIONS VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. IN ANY OTHER CASE OUR POSITION IS TO BE PROTECTED BY RESORTING TO THE PROVISION FOR TERMINATING THE AGREEMENT."

19. DEFENSE POLICY. IN A SECTION ADDED AT THE CONGRESS THE SDP, ECHOING FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN (CENTER PARTY), STATES THAT "THE SECURITY OF FINLAND CAN BEST BE ASSURED BY A PEACEFUL NEUTRALITY POLICY. MILITARY PREPAREDNESS DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE SECURITY

OF A SMALL COUNTRY. ENLARGING THE BUDGET FOR THE MILITARY OR INCREASING ITS STRENGTH CANNOT BE CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MANPOWER UTILIZATION OR THE NATIONAL ECONOMY." SDP ADDS THAT THE FINLAND TO ATTEMPT TO KEEP UP WITH TECHNOLOGICAL AND QUALITATIVE ADVANCES IN WEAPONRY WOULD PLACE AN ECONOMIC BURDEN ON THE POPULATION WITHOUT ADDING TO THEIR SECURITY.

20. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH MOST OF THE ATTENTION OF THE SDP CONGRESS WAS FOCUSED ON LEADERSHIP, DOMESTIC AND ELECTION ISSUES -- FOREIGN POLICY BEING LEFT TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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YOUNG" RADICALS" -- THE FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION NEVERTHELESS FORMS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SDP'S OVERALL PROGRAM. AFTER THE SEPTEMBER ELECTION IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE YOUNG ACTIVISTS IN SDP WILL DEMAND THAT THE PARTY GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS AND THAT THEY WILL TRY TO MAKE FULL USE OF THE RESOLUTION IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO GAIN A GREATER ROLE FOR THEMSELVES AND THE SDP IN THE FORMULATION OF FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY. OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS THE SDP HAS ADVANCED FROM BEING EXCLUDED FROM FOREIGN POLICY MAKING TO HAVING AT LEAST A PERIPHERAL ROLE. IT WILL NOT BE SATISFIED, HOWEVER, UNTIL IT HAS BROKEN THE CENTER PARTY'S BY NOW TRADITIONAL "MONOPOLY" POSITION IN FOREIGN POLICY. AS THE SDP ACTIVISTS PURSUE THEIR VERSION OF FINLAND'S "ACTIVE PEACEFUL NEUTRALITY POLICY," ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPT THAT THEY HAVE WRITTEN FOR THE SDP, THEY WILL BE PUSHING FOR CONSIDERABLY INCREASED TRADE WITH USSR, SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA, PALESTINIANS, CHILEAN REFUGEES, REBUILDING OF VIETNAM, AND A GENERALLY ENHANCED POSITION FOR THIRD WORLD, AS WELL AS AN NFZ IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN NORDIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

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